1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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capacity for work almost invariably takes the first place in a description of his character. Salesi thinks that formerly bravery was most thought of; now it is straightness (*yalo sdonu*); but people also like *manggosa*, which is combined skill and care in work.

The best way to get the people to work is to divide them into two teams and pit one against the other: the effect is miraculous; it transforms a rabble of slackers into two groups of enthusiastic workers. This spirit of rivalry is called *veinggati* or *veikati*.

## Rivalry

This leads to one of the most far-reaching traits in the Fijian character. It extends not only to work, but to dancing, and anything in which it is possible to outdo others, especially munificence. A reputation for meanness (*yalondrendre*) is perhaps what a Fijian dreads most. Generosity, for which, strangely enough, there appears to be no name, is a gentlemanly trait.

The fear of getting a bad name is the foundation of Fijian ethics. A certain nobleman was said to spend all his money on his people in order to get a good name. The good name of a clan or village is as carefully upheld. If a clan fails to provide enough food for a feast it gets a bad name.

A Fijian is very sensitive to public opinion, a sensitiveness expressed by *mandua*. This word covers such emotions as shame, bashfulness, shyness, shamefacedness, prudishness, constraint, delicacy. It makes ridicule, insult or defeat hard to bear. It is especially strong in the relations of inferiors to superiors, of young to old, of nobles and elders towards one another. It makes men ashamed at a ceremonial blunder by one of their number, but it also makes them reluctant to put him right; it makes them loth to haggle, or to argue; it makes them awkward in asking for a favor; it makes them distant with their parents or elder brothers. The following is an instance to what a point they carry their sense of delicacy: I received a bill for ten shillings intended for Vola; I passed it on to him and heard nothing more about it until one day he remarked of the sender of the bill, "He knows our ways well; that is why he sent the bill to you. We agreed on five shillings as the fare, but he knew that if you saw the bill I should be ashamed to haggle, and would pay." Salesi preferred to sell his copra to a certain man because he weighed it in silence, whereas the others talked nicely to him while weighing, so that if the weights were wrong he was ashamed to protest.

They are as quick to seize upon the ridicule in others as they fear it in themselves. Number upon number of the Native Gazette contains a letter relating with great zest some blunder, as that a man pursued a shadow on

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157 the water thinking it was a fish, only to find afterwards that it was the shadow of a heron above. When the actors discover their mistake they say, "Boys, no telling in the village, lest we be laughed at into the bargain."

## Old Age

145 It is commonly asserted that Fijians age more quickly than Europeans, but I know of no proof. Salesi knew his exact age: it was forty-three, and he looked about that age. Ratu Finau did not look older than his age, which was forty-one or forty-two. Joshua was said to be much older than either, yet he did not look quite fifty. Malani must have been about eighty, at least seventy-five, to remember the events he did; Tui Tumbou was older but better preserved and still worked in the fields.

888 Old men still enjoy some prestige, though not as much as formerly.
177 They do not count as much in a bureaucratic government, which prefers
573 young men because they understand clerical work. Schooling also puffs up the young with conceit of their knowledge and makes them despise the culture of the old. The oldest man says, "They used to fear the anger of old men; now they despise them because of Christianity. They used to say if a man despises the words of an old man he will not prosper, he will not steer straight so as to make land anywhere. If a man despises the words of his father, and after a short time falls ill, they say, 'Why did you despise your father's words?' "

Nevertheless, old men are still feared. One of the young generation, about seventeen, said to me, "Fijians fear the abuse (*vosa tha*) and prohibitions (*vosa surui*) of an old man. If a man wants to do something and the old man tells him not to, it is no use doing it; it does not prosper."

## Curses and Oaths

789 I tried in vain to discover a word for a curse; one informant suggested
192 a Tongan word, but did not know of any in Fijian. The conclusion is there is no distinction between curses and abuse; both are called "to speak evil," "to use bad language" (*vosa tha*). If an old man spoke evil or used bad language (*vosa vakathathataka*) to a man, that man was despised; if men's children were impudent the old people said evil of them.

192 Ordinary abuse is also known as evil speech, bad language. "If bad
633 language is uttered in jest," says one, "we put up with it; but if in anger (*yalo tha*), we go straight to court."

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the help of the girls, prepare the greens by removing the leaves from the stems, and attend to the boiling.

Mother and child are practically inseparable. The mother rarely goes out of the village, but spends most of her time with other women in one of the kitchen houses of her clan, her baby on her lap or close beside her. Sometimes she strolls leisurely through the village to see a relative, her infant slung on her back or over one hip in a piece of cloth or barkcloth, which has been slipped under one arm and over the opposite shoulder and knotted over the chest. The mother plays with her baby, talks to him, and pets him. Long before the child is able to stand she amuses herself by propping him up against her breasts, his feet on her lap. Moving his little body rhythmically in imitation of the dance, she chants to him. She calls him "little pig" and sings lullabies to put him to sleep. At night the child sleeps beside her on the mat.

The mother usually suckles the baby whenever he cries, which may be three or four times in one hour. He is allowed to nurse as long as he cares to. If she is sitting with flexed legs crossed in front she lays the child across her lap. While sucking her right breast he is supported by her right arm, her left hand upholding the lower end of her breast. During the process of nursing the mother often rocks the child by rhythmically moving the flexed leg on which he rests. If she is lying down she lays the child beside and facing her, places the sling she uses for carrying him in a wad under his head, and gives him her breast. The child is not interrupted to change breasts nor is the breast withdrawn until he rejects it. The weaning process is gradual and without shock to the child. At the age of three or four months he is fed baked papaw or raw mango, usually half-ripe, in a casual fashion. Now and then bits of baked sweet potato or breadfruit are slipped into his mouth. Gradually he eats more and more solid food until, at the age of about one year he is fully weaned. I did not observe any child sucking his thumb.

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informant said that children are occasionally burned on the arm or leg to develop resistance to pain. I was also told that a mask, consisting of a face painted on a coconut husk, is used to frighten little children. It is also used by clownish individuals to amuse the crowd at a large ceremonial exchange.

When in the company of adults, children are unobtrusive. Watching, listening, dozing, munching a piece of breadfruit, or entertaining themselves with a piece of string or imitation cigarette, they sit silently for hours on the lap of relative. The conversation of the adults is never modified on account of the children before whom life gradually unfolds.

In these early years the foundations of fear and respect are laid. Fear of the spirits, still today the strongest emotional complex of the natives, and of the Christian devil as taught by the native missionaries, takes deep root in the mind of the child. He hears adults talking of evil spirits they have seen, heard, and been possessed by; he is told stories of spirits and bad souls by his relatives and older children, and he hears and sees them himself. These stories have a strong permanent effect on his personality. Respect for his ancestral gods and the Christian God, closely related to and conflicting with fear of spirits, develops in the child during these years and blends with his growing sense of the importance of the elders of his clan and village.

The child becomes familiar with the behavior patterns of the group, and recognizes the status of each individual in relation to himself and to the other members of the community. He learns the social sanctions, backed as they are by fear of spirit ancestors, elders, and public opinion. He becomes dependent on public opinion, but he develops no defense against rebuke. Accustomed as he has been to the affection, cooperation, leniency, and encouragement—if not from all his relatives all the time, at least from some of his relatives all the time—he is unprepared for opposition, which he meets by subterfuge, sulkiness or tantrums. This lack of self-control is

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867 157 expressed in sullenness and fits of anger in adult life, and the subterfuge develops into a cultivated cunningness greatly admired by the natives.

857 Young children spend much time in the company of their brothers and sisters and of other children in the same age group. When together they are noisy, in contrast to their subdued behavior in the presence of adults. Younger brothers and sisters defer to older and especially to the first born. Older brothers take advantage of their position and make the younger ones run errands. Brothers, sisters, and cousins all play together until they are seven or eight years old.

868 857 524 Children play in the village or on the beach. They have no fear of the water, and learn to dog paddle and look out for sharks soon after their first sea bath at the age of one year. Their favorite water sport is playing with toy canoes made of coconut husks with a sail of a large leaf. Each toy boat has a name. The children talk to their canoes and frequently they have canoe races at low tide. As they grow older the boys take small three-pointed spears, and in twos and threes stand on the shore and spear little fish in the coral pockets or the breaking surf. Little girls, on the other hand, learn to dive for shellfish. From infancy children have a familiarity with the sea which they carry into adulthood. When Kambarans drown, it is not usually from inability to [776] keep afloat, but from fear of the shark god which is sacred to the island. Children often amuse themselves by drawing crude pictures in the sand with a stick, or by running races on the beach. They also play hop-scotch, jump rope, and marbles.

868 534 From infancy the child is accustomed to hear and feel the rhythmic harsh chant-singing which is Lauan music. Soon he begins to imitate the expressions of his elders and to learn to sing and dance himself. Little boys often play on the large slit wooden gongs, and soon are able to play the second gong in complicated duets with older boys.

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Kambara district, Masi, headman of a noble clan (Naivotavota) of Tanggu, has been appointed assistant *mbuli Kambara* in order to govern Kambara, the largest island in the group. Masi is a man of about seventy years. The appointment of a man from Tanggu instead of Tokalau has raised the status of Masi's clan as well as of the village of Tanggu. It has added fuel to the keen competition between the nobles of Tokalau and Tanggu for highest rank in the district.

The main point in the controversy is this: according to tradition a famous warrior (Tchiaotchi) of Masi's clan, Tanggu, united the island and first held the title of chief of Kambara. He was succeeded by his sister's son (Manoa), and it was not until the Tongan regime in Lau that the present ranking clan of Tokalau gained the chieftainship and later, with the coming of the British government, the first *mbuli-ship*.[19] The nobles of Tanggu, however, have never relinquished claim to superior hereditary rank, and to this day look upon the nobles of Tokalau as political parvenus.

The appointment of Masi to the highest political title on Kambara (namely assistant *mbuli Kambara*) not only substantiated his clan's historical claim, but also had a strong effect upon Masi himself. Masi is an exceedingly sensitive and proud old man, jealous of every claim or mark of prestige. He is, at the same time, shy and ingratiating, but in his own home a minor dictator. On our first visit to Tanggu I stayed in his house, the largest and most imposing in the village. The house, however, had a sheet-iron roof which rendered it useless during the heat of the day. On a second visit to the village, therefore, I accepted an invitation

[19] Tchiaotchi was succeeded by Manoa of the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau. Manoa was sister's son (*vasu*) to Naivotavota. Under Tongan influence, however, Timothe Thakau of the Vuanikathu clan, Tokalau, succeeded Manoa. He was installed chief of Kambara, and with the introduction of the British colonial government became the first *mbuli Kambara*. Hence politically Tokalau is considered the ranking village on the island. Since the death of Timothe Thakau, his son Tchosaia has been the titular chief of Kambara, but on account of the *mbuli* system he has never been installed.

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overturning the white man's rule. It caused the administration considerable trouble until finally the leader was banished for ten years to Rotuma island, north of the Fiji group, where he died. His spirit, however, continued to haunt the hill country of Viti Levu, and the cult persisted for many years. 794 668

The "Immortality" cult, with its unique combination of the old and the new, provided a spiritual outlet to a people reacting against the too rapid influx of foreign innovations. It was a desperate attempt to recapture the past, mainly the spiritual values of the disappearing native culture. The history of the movement illustrates the process by which a messiah so often arises among a harassed people in a period of stress.

Other prophets have arisen in Fiji with the same message of recreating the glories of the past and freeing the people from foreign domination. A recent outstanding one is Apolosi, a young man from the province of Lautoka in northwest Viti Levu. Apolosi became the leader of a political movement called the Fijian Youth, which spread rapidly through the group in the 1920's and has only been suppressed by the banishment of the leader to Rotuma.

Many examples have been recorded of messianic and reactionary movements among peripheral peoples after first contact with western civilization. These successful messiahs, however, represent but a fraction of the number of potential messiahs whom circumstances of temperament or environment repress. Tarai of Kambara is an interesting example of a repressed messiah. 159 157

Tarai's father, although born on Kambara, traveled a great deal in his youth. He was among the one hundred Fijians chosen to represent the colony at the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria in England. He married a woman of a hereditary priest clan in Rewa, a high ranking village on Viti Levu, and for some time lived in the village. After two years there were no offspring to this union and his wife consulted one of her female relatives, a medicine woman. She was given

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159 medicine and became pregnant. While she was with child
157 she had a vision that her unborn son would be a prophet and free the people of Fiji from foreign domination. She told the child of her dream when he was still young and died shortly after. At a government school in Viti Levu the boy was trained to be a village teacher. He learned a fair amount of English. During his youth he traveled in the Fiji group and also visited New Zealand.

When I knew Tarai he was about 28 years old, lighter skinned and smaller in bone structure and stature than the average Fijian. He looked like a half-caste, and since his father was pure Fijian, his mother must have had some European blood. His face was troubled, but his manner gentle. After many months he told me that as a youth he had begun to be visited in his dreams by his ancestor gods. They promised that if he would live a chaste life for seven years they would gradually reveal to him the truth about his people and give him "mana" to lead them to greatness. They said that Fiji had once been a powerful nation like Great Britain and had ruled the entire Pacific. Fiji was destined to reach these heights again, and if he carried out their instructions he was to be the leader. Tarai resolved to live a life of chastity, but in spite of his firm resolutions he failed again and again. However, the visions continued.

Meanwhile his father had remarried and returned to live on Kambara. He called for his eldest son to come home and help him cultivate his ancestral land, and Tarai returned as village teacher. He settled down and built himself a bachelor house. He was intelligent, industrious, and highly respected on the island, a good gardener and sailor. When I knew him his father was continually urging him to marry, for he had been betrothed for years to his cross cousin. Tarai delayed the wedding, however, and was still sure in his heart that if he carried out the instructions of his ancestors he would become a great leader. At the same time he felt that he

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could not make the effort. After leaving Fiji, I received a letter from Tarai telling of his marriage. He proudly described how his father had killed four pigs, and a great many people had attended the ceremonies.

Some individuals, however, have been able to make an adjustment between the new and the old religions with the minimum of conflict. The life of old Moto of Undu, for instance, is tranquil. Moto was born shortly after Christianity had been introduced to Kambara. His father became a Christian, and Moto grew up to accept the new faith wholeheartedly. However, in spite of the injunction against speaking of the old gods, Moto learned something about them from his father. As he grew older he thought more and more about the changes that had taken place in his lifetime, the old Lauan customs and how they had been altered by the coming of Christianity and the British rule. At about the age of 90, when we knew him, he was able to free himself sufficiently from the mission yoke to tell us what he knew of the old religion. In the course of our discussion one day, he said: "You know, when I was young I thought that the 'way of the devil' (as the old religion is called) was very different from Christianity, but now that I am old I see little difference between them." This statement is significant for it represents one native's carefully thought out conclusions of a lifetime.

Gradually native myths and tales which harmonized the two religions were created and spread through the group. The translation of a version of the creation of man, collected in Viti Levu by Mr. Brewster in 1893, follows:[52]

"Formerly there were two gods, Jehovah and Ndengei (the great snake god of Viti Levu), and at one time they had a dispute. Ndengei said, 'Jehovah, pay obedience to me.' Jehovah replied, 'Ndengei, serve me. Do you not know that I am the supreme Chief and Lord of Heaven?' To this

[52] A. B. Brewster, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

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174 is supported by many small hints. And if from Malaya why not from farther west still—from the peoples of western Asia, the "cradle of the human race"?

142 The Polynesian has a distinctly "Eastern" face, high cheek bones, and slightly slanting eyes; and his manners and customs are very much

157 of "the east." He is clever, but childlike; easily stirred to passion, yet dreamy; full of vanity and arrogant pride, yet of very courtly and charming manners; careless of his own life, yet callous to the sufferings of others. Certain little actions of his continually crop up that, like the flashing of a camera shutter, give you a momentary glimpse of some mysterious past, of some ancestry which is surely "Eastern."

201 A Lau islander—who is mostly a Polynesian
171 (and even a Fijian, who is, as I have mentioned above, half a Polynesian)—beckons to you, not as a European would with an upward crooked finger or hand, but exactly as the Malayans do, with a downward sweep of the hand, as it were "hooking" you towards him. Again, a Lau islander makes a sign of assent by tilting up his chin, exactly as the people of Malay do. And a Lau islander claps his hands softly once or twice as a mark of respect for a chief, and as

[576] far north as old Japan the same sign was used; while the wooden head-rest and the reed houses